1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

133 slopes and in the Mangnar and Dantewara Mar villages there are often fine patches of sal and other evergreen trees. On the hill-tops and on slopes exhausted by shifting cultivation, high grass and stunted trees make the country monotonous to the eye and tiring through lack of shade. Where the slopes are newly cleared and have once been burnt for shifting *penda* cultivation, often a small grove of trees is left on the summit, like nothing so much as the top-knot of hair on the crown of a Maria's otherwise roughly-shaved head. But the moment you descend off the rocky plateaux you meet green glades and hurrying streams, or may feel the sudden amaze of a prospect such as that of the blue apex of the lofty Bailadila ridge seen beyond the haze of the Indrawati valley down the valley of a stream that far below the ridge between Itulnar and Hikul races due south to the Indrawati.

161 There are only between 150 and 160 villages inhabited in all this area of about 1,500 square miles, and there are only 11,500 ●361 Hill Marias. This means one village in every ten square miles, and less than eight persons to the square mile. In few places can you lose yourself in such solitudes.

635 North Bastar thus consists administratively o. .he Antagarh, Kondagaon and Jagdalpur tahsils, half of the Jagdalpur tahsil being south of the Indrawati, and of the portions of the Kutru and Bhopalpatnam zamindaris and the Dantewara tahsil north of the Indrawati.

635 In South Bastar there are the Dantewara, Bijapur and Konta tahsils, and the Sukma, Kutru, Bhopalpatnam and Kotapalli-
491 Pamer zamindaris; these four zamindaris alone survive out of the seventeen or eighteen of old times. A great western road runs 134 miles from Jagdalpur through Gidam, Karli, Matawara, Bijapur and Bhopalpatnam to Timer on the Indrawati, opposite Patagudam in Chanda district, whence there is a forest road to Sironcha; branches south from Gidam and Karli run to Dantewara, with a further extension to Kameli at the foot of the Bailadila hills; north from Gidam to Barsur, and from Matawara to Kutru; and south from Bhopalpatnam to Tarlagudam on the Godavari and thence over the Latpatkandi pass into the Nugur and Albaka taluqs of Madras. A great southern road runs 114 miles from Jagdalpur to Sukma and Konta. A network of forest roads of recent construction links these roads together between Tirathgarh in Jagdalpur tahsil, Katakalian, Kuakonda and Dantewara, or southward from Kuakonda to the Kolab-Sabari at Misma on the Konta road, and to Konta via the Aranpur pass, Jaggergonda and Golapalli; while Bijapur is linked to Cherla and Jaggergonda to Dummagudam, both on the Godavari. With these and other

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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of the inferiority complex palmed off his name Dor Koi or Lowland Koi on the ignorant Telugu as Dora Koi, and has proceeded to object to the name Koi and demand always the name Dora or Dorla, simultaneously impressing on the Telugu how superior he is to the Highlander.

I have verified these points by personal investigation supplemented by reliable information from assistants directed to make enquiries on specified lines. When the traveller descends the Aranpur pass, he finds the villagers at the foot of the pass in such villages as Gumadasaka, Bikrampalli, Kondasaoli, Kamargudem, Kodmair, Karrigudem, Bayampalli, Kundair, Ursangal, Durandarbha, Michiguda, Vadri, Silger, Mandimarka, Singaram, Tarlaguda Banjepalli and Durma inhabited by people indistinguishable from the Bison-horn Marias above the pass, or by Maria Lohars. The only difference is a noticeable Telugu influence on their Maria dialect. At Jaggergonda, six or seven miles beyond the foot of the pass, he meets the first Telugu-speaking non-Koitor village, and just beyond this comes to the first Dorla villages, Rajpenta, Achkat and Kamaram. Southwards in the country covered by the new Ordnance Survey one-inch maps, on sheet 65 F/3, Singaram in square B1, Puvarti, Junaguda and Rayagudem in A2, Chimili, Surpanguda, Kistaram and Morpalli in B2, all the villages in A3, and Tadmetla, the only village in B3, are Dorla villages. Generally speaking, all the riverain tracts of Bhopalpatnam zamindari, Bijapur tahsil, Kotapalli-Pamer zamindari and southern Konta tahsil are Dorla villages, though here and there will be found Gottor Koya, i.e. Bison-horn Maria villages in Konta Dorla country such as Tokanpalli, Burkapalli and Chintaguppa (in map 65 F/3, square C3).

These Dorla at census refused to call themselves Koya, and were not returned as such but as Gonds; and they are the principal element in the 19,426 professing tribal religion out of the 24,407 Bastaris returned as Gonds in the 1931 census. The 4,981 Hindu Gonds returned are mostly Dorlas from the Lingagiri *pargana* of Bhopalpatnam and the adjacent parts of Bijapur, who have become Lingayats, wearing a *rudraksha* bead in a silver box or a Shiva *lingam* slung on a thread.

It will be clear, therefore, that the 9,988 persons returned at the census as Koyas are not the Dorla or lowland Koyas returned as Koyas in the East Godavari Agency. They are the Bison-horn Marias living at the foot of the passes in Konta and Sukma and slightly influenced by Telugu contacts. Of the Koya dialect of Gondi returned in 1931 as spoken by 6,172 persons in Bastar, however, it is probable that it represents the speech of the Dorla

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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515 the streams for the sexes, and they never bathe together. But the Hill Maria does not know the use of soap; occasionally his women follow the practice of the plains women and scour their hair with a plaster of black earth well rinsed out later. His nails are generally long and very dirty. The infant and the toddler are occasionally washed with water from a gourd. Where there is no stream near or water is scarce, the daily ablutions are often [415] performed with water dipped from an earthen water-pot with a gourd ladle, called *paghas* by the Hill Marias and *orka* in the plains, made from a gourd shaped like a large European smoking pipe; the straight stem is hollow and holed at the end; the stem is held near the bowl between the chin and collar-bone or shoulder and water tilted down from the bowl on to the body by dropping the other shoulder, while the hands rub the limb thus wetted. Needless to say, ablutions thus performed are not very effective.

The Bison-horn Maria also on occasion 'washes' with the ladle, but generally is cleaner than the Hill Maria, and is beginning to buy cheap soap in the bazaars. He will wash his hands before a meal, unlike the hill man. He has his daily dip, but generally in the evening only; and the women definitely bathe only in the evening on their way back from the fields. Both bathe naked, but they wash their clothes far more readily than the Hill Maria, living indeed in the 'bazaar' plains with several Mahra weavers in their midst.^

514 The Hill Maria, unlike the Hindu, does not wash after defeca-
515 tion, but wipes himself with leaves. The plainsman is learning the Hindu habit. Neither a Hill nor a Bison-horn village is ever as noisome as the average Hindu village of so 'advanced' a tract as the Maratha country of Nagpur or Berar, where at night the village streets are used as a public latrine and it is difficult to pass clean-shod in the morning. The Hill Maria generally retires into the jungle to ease himself, and the Bison-horn either does the same or uses the *bari* or vegetable garden at the back of his house.

356 A Hill Maria's house is really clean only for the first month or
● 361 two after it is made, and there is no regular re-plastering of the floors with cow-dung and mud. The interior is rapidly grimed with smoke and dust; and if the Maria has any article he wishes to keep clean he stores it up a tree or in his granary. But his house seldom has to last him more than four or five years, after which, his *penda* slope being exhausted, he and the other villagers move their houses to one of the alternative village sites, and his old house is ultimately burnt, either deliberately or as a matter of course in the annual firing of the forest grasses. The Bison-horn Maria, on the other hand, is now a dweller in permanent habitations, save for an occasional shift for superstitious reasons. His houses are therefore

^[see CA1.116 pp.418-419. - Analysis]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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larger and higher, generally with a separate cooking hut; and he is learning the Hindu habit of periodic re-plastering of the floors with cow-dung.

It was observed above that a Hill Maria's head with a round patch of hair on the crown drawn back into a top-knot and the rest shaved, but often stubbly or only less long than the crown patch, resembles in appearance a hill-crest with a clearing all around for *penda* cultivation and a grove of trees left standing on the summit. This is the old style of coiffure for men in the Abujhmar mountains, but the younger men incline to imitate Muria or Bison-horn Maria fashions. There are no recognized barbers among them; every man keeps his own razor and shaves his friends, who return the compliment. The razor blade is made by the nearest blacksmith from locally collected ore, and is shaped like a little single-edged *dao*, the edge being convexly curved, and the blade fitted into a small cylindrical wooden handle by a pointed tang heated and then worked into the round end of the handle; the greatest length of the blade varies from 7 to 8·5 cm., the greatest breadth is about 2 cm., and the handle is generally about 6 to 6·5 cm. long. They are kept wrapped in a dirty rag to prevent rust, and tucked into the loin-cloth near the small of the back. The barber grasps his patient's crown-tuft in his left hand, tilts his head forward, pours water over the hair to be removed, and pushes the razor-blade downwards from the crown through the hair, stropping the blade at intervals on his own calves or thigh, and wiping off any hair adhering to it on the patient's head. He first shaves the back of the head and neck, measuring the length of the crown patch to be left unshaved by the length of the crown-tuft as it hangs down unknotted; he then shaves the sides behind the ears and above the cheeks, including side-whiskers if any, and ends with the front of the skull. He shaves efficiently and quickly. There is seldom need to trim beard or moustache. The old and middle-aged have their heads shaved only once or twice a year, if as often; but it is thought slack for a younger man not to do so every month. There are no religious or social occasions, such as births, weddings, funerals, or visits to the clan-god, when shaving is obligatory. It is dangerous to leave your hair where your enemy or some witch or wizard may get hold of it; so you gather it, take it well into the jungle, hold it to your lips and puff it away, so depriving it of your personality or *jiwa* and making it useless for any magic.

Hair-dressing

Many of the younger men imitate the Bison-horn fashion of coiffure. A straight fringe or *witto* is left, varying from 4 cm. in length over the centre of the forehead to 2·5 cm. over the temples

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

CHAPTER VI

VILLAGES, HOUSES AND THEIR CONTENTS

A. Hill Maria Villages, Houses and their Contents

361 THE site of the Hill Maria village is in these days almost entirely determined by its convenience as a centre from which to cultivate the *penda* slopes of the year. Peace has reigned in the Abujhmar hills from time immemorial, and no question of defence arises when a village is built. A possible relic of former unsettled times [349] is the custom of building stone cairns and seats as look-outs at the head of passes or the summits of hills on the paths leading to villages; but these are convenient watching places for herdsmen when their cattle are grazing around the hill-tops, and serve also to mark the line of the paths which, in the rains, are overgrown with rank grass, or fall into disuse when villages or *penda* slopes 487 are abandoned for alternative sites. Certain well-defined tracks through the hills are cleared annually by the villagers; these often avoid the actual village sites, to which side tracks connect them. There are no carts in the hills, and therefore the tracks are only foot-paths, generally wide enough only for a party to walk in single file, though at the periodic clearings the grass is cut down to a width of two or three feet on each side of the path. The village 361 boundary is usually marked by a cairn of stones, in the centre of which may be planted a pole ornamented at the top with bunches of grass or peacock or jungle-cock feathers, the pole being further adorned by peeling off bands of bark at intervals throughout its length. The boundary itself is usually a stream, and the cairns of the two villages are usually twenty or thirty yards apart, so that [783] when the annual *pira-mansha* (called by the Bison-horn Marias *bog-burria* and by Halbi-speakers *boharani*) ceremony of ridding the village of disease takes place, the old winnowing-fans with the sweepings of each house can be hung up beyond the boundary on this no-man's-land without leaving them on the lands of the neighbouring village.

487 These paths cross streams by stepping-stones, by logs felled across the stream, by small raised embankments pierced by hollowed 491 tree trunk pipes for the passage of the water and revetted with horizontally laid logs, or by bridges consisting of a plank supported by bamboo wicker-work cylinders filled with boulders resting on

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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the bed of the stream; these are held in position between upright poles set V-wise in the boulders, to which are fastened horizontal bamboo poles as railings. As they have no saws, the 'plank' is a tree trunk with one side trimmed flat with the axe. Even more elaborate bridges are sometimes made at high levels over streams liable to flood, from tree-fork to tree-fork on opposite banks.

Though, as has been said above, agricultural conditions nowadays determine village sites, hill-tops or rocky slopes remain favourite sites, and become commoner as you penetrate farther into the Abujhmar hills. The traditional arrangement is a street some twenty-five yards wide between parallel lines of long-houses; at one end of the street is the *gotul-lon* or village dormitory, generally within a rounded bamboo fence, and sometimes in front of this dormitory will be seen the *udam-garia* or seat of honour of the *kasyeq-gaita* and possibly also of the secular headman (*gaita* or *peda*), as well as the stones on which the other village elders sit around with them in conclave; but the *udam-garia* custom is not found in all parts of the hills. Sometimes the shrine of the *Nar-Talughi* or Village Mother is actually inside the dormitory fencing, and she is often housed there for a while when a village is being shifted. There are, as a rule, no *bari* (vegetable gardens) attached to each house as amongst most Gonds, including the Bison-horn Marias and the Murias of Bastar; but sometimes the *kasyeq-gaita* has a small tobacco *bari* attached to the dormitory in the centre of the main street. The *Gazetteer* (p. 50) speaks of the 'common granary' as standing in the broad street; but with one partial exception, Nugur village in Kutru Mar in the Indrawati valley, I have never seen this. The villagers generally construct a row of granaries (*manda* or *wijja-dodi*) on piles at the side or rear of the main village street, sometimes nearer the *penda* fields than the village; this row can hardly be called a 'common granary', as each villager has his own granary in the row for his own private food and seed store, the granaries being built together only for convenience, as they can then be watched at night by one watchman for the whole village, sleeping in a special hut at the side of the granaries or under a granary. At Nugur there were big matting bins in the main street in which all the rice seed of the village was stored; but here the village had come under the economic thraldom of some Teli tradesmen, who for years had advanced rice to the cultivators. The bins were left in the collective charge of the headman and elders, and any villager could help himself to seed on the understanding that at harvest he would replace it with 50 per cent. interest, the Teli owners being also free to remove the surplus from time to time.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Hill Maria

This traditional arrangement of the Hill Maria villages is far from being always observed. I have seen a village constructed in this way on one of its traditional sites (*pagh* or *pagha'i*; Murias say *pare*, while Bison-horn Marias generally use the Halbi word *padar*), and then four years later found it reconstructed on one of the alternative sites with little sign of the traditional grouping; and I have also seen the converse occur. In fact, the configuration of the site may make the traditional arrangement difficult. It is also being gradually abandoned in the villages on the edges of the hills into which the individualism of surrounding plains villages is creeping, and in the few villages such as Orcha and Hikul which have good permanent rice cultivation; in the latter villages there is a growing tendency not to shift the sites when the surrounding *penda* slopes are exhausted, but to cultivate even remote slopes from the village site in the vicinity of the permanent rice fields. As the old feeling of village community weakens, houses are no longer built as long-houses, each containing groups of three or four houses occupied by brothers or near paternal cousins, but are built detached, each with its own granary close to it, instead of the householder having one compartment in the long granary row; even then, however, the detached houses tend to group themselves roughly into lines flanking a central open space, at one end of which is the village dormitory (*gotul-lon*), in its usual position. Even when a village site is becoming permanent, as at Orcha and Hikul, any sudden calamity, such as crop failure, epidemic or epizootic, will probably induce the villagers to shift. In several villages the *kasyeq-gaita* always keeps a hen sitting on eggs inside his house, and the addling of an undue proportion of these is frequently a signal for the shifting of the village; but a wise *gaita* does not let his eggs get addled unless there is really sound economic or religious reason for shifting, when the omens can be made to suit the occasion.

Behind each line of houses will be found rows of pig-sties, at least one for each house; and the pigs often seem better housed than their masters. Where, as around Orcha, sal (*Shorea robusta*) or other timber is plentiful, the pig-sties are generally made of sections of tree trunk or large boughs laid horizontally between vertical stays, with an opening in front which can be closed by dropping vertical posts over it between horizontal stays at the top and bottom of the opening. These sties are sheltered from the sun by grass-thatched roofs sloping back from two or more vertical posts about 6 feet high to similar posts about 4 feet high in the rear. Dug-out troughs of sal wood are kept outside or just inside the sties for water and food for the pigs; the commonest food is a mash made from the chaff or husks of *kosra* (*kutki*; *Panicum miliaceum*) and

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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343 231 other minor grains. Where timber is not available, these sties are made from bamboos, or even from stones. Similar but, of course, far smaller structures are made to serve as hen-coops, resting generally against the side or front of the houses.

778 361 [824] The shrine of the Village Mother, as has been stated above, is sometimes actually inside the village dormitory, sometimes just outside it, and sometimes at a considerable distance from the actual village, in a grove, if possible of *saja* (*Terminalia tomentosa*—everywhere the sacred tree of the Gond) trees. Sometimes there is also in the village, often at the end of the street opposite the dormitory, the hut-temple of the *pen* or clan-god, containing the log-frame image of the god. This will normally be found only in the village of the *pen-wadda'i* or priest of the clan-god; but sometimes, where the villages of the clan are far apart, there may be two copies of the clan-god, or the god may go to visit other villages, and have a resting-shed in each; or he may have begotten a son to deputize for him in the distant village; I have seen in a *pen-rawar* (clan-god's temple) both the *pen* himself and an embryo 'son' in the second of his three years' 'gestation'. The *pen* is always covered by a shed; but the Village Mother sometimes is just a cairn or a basket-cylinder filled with stones, or a low table-stone at the foot of a *saja* tree, and close by there is a small shed of grass thatch with open sides in which are kept the cooking pots, ladles and sacrificial knife used at ceremonial feasts. The sacred grove may in very rare cases, in villages near the edge of the lowlands, have also a hut-temple of Danteshwari Mai or Maolai, the most revered or feared Hindu deities of Bastar.

343 841 There will be found well apart from the houses and the rest of the village a menstruation hut in many villages, known as *pedawo'-gha'i* to the Hill Marias, or sometimes as *dola-lon*. Here all menstruating women are secluded from the village for a week every month. Sometimes the hut has a single room, about 6 by 5 feet, with walls 3 feet high, with no windows and only a small door little bigger than the entrance to an English kennel; sometimes there are two rooms separated from each other by a partition, so that when a girl is afraid of being secluded by herself a duenna may sleep within sound of her without actual contact. The door of the seclusion room always opens away from the village, so that the affected woman may get out at night to answer the call of nature without overlooking the village or being visible to any villager. Special cooking pots and utensils are kept in the seclusion room, or else the woman's food is cooked outside and left by her door for her. [789 824] The roof is often covered with seed-bearing twigs of castor-oil plants, in all parts of India regarded as very efficacious against magic.

[text continues on p. 106]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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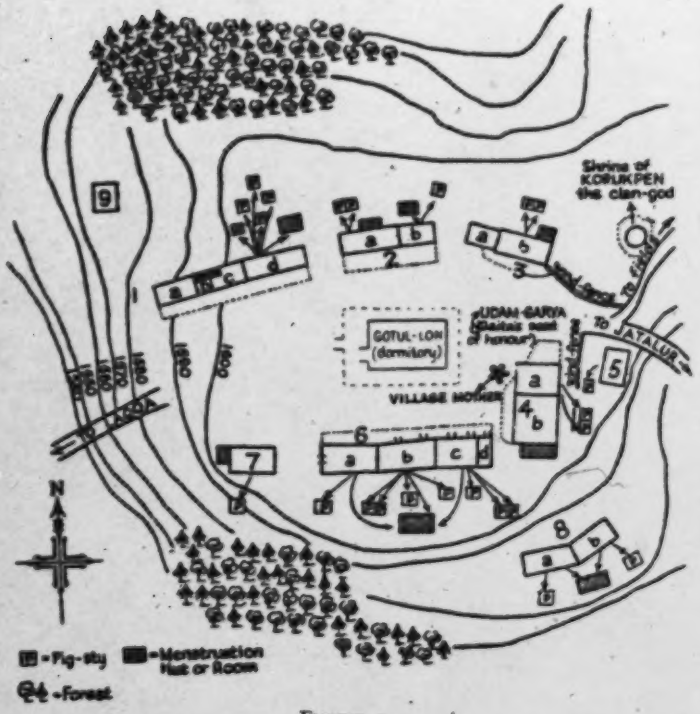

FIGURE 3

MAP OF KARANGAL VILLAGE OF THE PARLLO HILL MARIA CLAN, as occupied in February 1930. (Contours approximate.)

House-group 1 (*a*) Empty; built for Deda HUNGA, when serving for MURRA's niece; since marrying her, lives in KURMER. (*b*) P. BAIYYA's mother. (*c*) P. BAIYYA, wife and son. (*d*) P. MURRA, brother of BAIYYA, his wife, his son P. BANDE, wife and daughter.

2. (*a*) P. DOGA and wife. (*b*) P. KUTTA, wife, son. DOGA and KUTTA are elder and younger brothers, but separate in cultivation.
3. (*a*) Empty, since death of P. MURRA's elder brother's widow. (*b*) P. MURRA and wife.
4. (*a*) P. BAIYYA, kasveq-gaita, and wife. (*b*) his son P. GURSA, wife and son.
5. Ruined house of P. KUTTO, who had left village.
6. (*a*) P. MURKA and wife. (*b*) P. KUTA, 2 wives, 1 son. (*c*) P. KEYE, wife and 2 sons. (*d*) KEYE's mother. KUTA, MURKA and KEYE regard themselves as brothers, KUTA being the eldest; they are paternal third cousins. Their fields and pigs are separate, but menstruation hut common.
7. P. PANDA, wife, 1 son, 2 daughters, widowed mother.
8. (*a*) P. HEODA, wife and son. (*b*) P. MASA (his wife had eloped). HEODA is the elder, MASA the younger brother.
9. The house of a Rawat (herdsman), well apart from Maria houses.

The wind-fence is a stockade of thick poles.
The dotted lines are bamboo wickerwork fences.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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343 But in many villages instead of a communal *pedawo'gha'i* there is a separate hut at the back of each long-house for the use of the 841 residents of each house contained in the long-house, called by the same name; or else in each house there is a *pedawo'gha'i* room known generally as *hala*,[1] with a door opening at the back of the house, separated from the rest of the house by a *binda* or low mud threshold about three feet from the back door. It is absolutely [784] *polo* or taboo for any male to set foot in the menstruation hut or room; I once saw a son who wanted to enter the house by the back door take a flying leap from outside so as to land beyond the *binda*. In every *hala* room there is a complete set of cooking vessels and utensils for the woman to use while she is in her courses, when it is *polo* for her to touch any of the regular household articles. The menstruation hut or room is also the scene of all child-births.

485 There is in some big villages a resting hut for travellers or State officials, known as the *paik-gotul* or *Kos-gotul*; *paik* is the word used for a member of the old militia, and *Kos* is the general word used by all Gonds for Hindus. This may also have a stable attached.

361 The sketch-plan on page 105 illustrates a fairly typical Hill Maria [351] village, crowning a mountain spur; it represents the site occupied in 1930 by the Kutru Mar village of Karangal. The long-houses here had nearly all of them bamboo fences between them and the street, running along their front about three or four feet from their front wall. The doors have been shown only in the houses in long-house no. 6. The fences only give a little privacy, and spaces useful for storing fuel; they are not garden (*bari*) enclosures. Bamboo is very plentiful around Karangal; where it is less common, these fences are absent. The stockades of thick poles at the eastern side of this village were made to afford protection from the fierce and cold wind blowing off the hills from the north-east. The [178] Village Mother's shrine was a cylindrical basket of stones resting on five boulders in the open space between the dormitory and the *kasyeq-gaita's* house, near the latter's *udam-garia* seat of honour. This seat was a flat slab of stone resting on five thin slabs stuck vertically in the ground. The *pen-rawar* shrine of the clan-god Koruk Pen was a round hut surrounded with a bamboo fence to the east of the village by the side of the path leading to the *penda* fields; there is another shrine of this god at Nugur, a Parllo clan village a few miles away in the Indrawati valley. In Karangal 361 the only non-Maria was a Maria-speaking Rawat herdsman, who 621 was allowed a house site at some distance from the main street; [194]

[1] Or *ala*; the aspirate is often dropped by Hill Marias.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Hill Maria

and every Maria house was occupied by members of the Parllo clan, the only partial exception being the empty house (no. 1-a) which had till recently been occupied by a youth of the Deda clan, which may intermarry with the Parllo clan, serving as *lamana'i* to win the niece of Parllo Murra, occupant of house no. 1-d. It will be observed that some long-houses have a joint menstruation hut at the rear of the house, while in some there is a separate *kala* for each house in the long-house. The *kasyaq-gaita's* house is at the dormitory end of the street, a very usual position.

The shifting of villages

It has already been implied that though a village site may be abandoned for superstitious reasons, the predominant reason is economic, the exhaustion of the *penda* slopes that can be conveniently cultivated from the existing village. If three or more *kaghai* (*penda* sites) can be dealt with from one *paghai* or village site, then the village may remain on that site for seven or eight years, even though there are other *paghai* in the other *penda* sites cultivated from it; or if any portion of the last *penda* site to be cultivated is very remote from it, then a few houses may be shifted there. What makes the old topographical survey maps so useless for finding a modern village is that they mark only the village site occupied in the sixties, generally, too, by the particular name of that site, not by the general name of the village. The big village of Orcha, for example, is not marked as such, but by the name of its *paghai* Hoinar. A reference to the sketch map of the parish (to use a term more suitable than 'village') of Handawada in Dantewara Mar (opposite p. 108) will make the position clear. The parish has ten alternative *kaghai* cultivation sites, viz.:—

1. Kawar *kaghai*, 1st half.
2. Ditto, 2nd half.
3. Irapmeta *kaghai*.
4. Hitangpal *kaghai*.
5. Kurmelnar *kaghai*.
6. Rekarai *kaghai*.
7. Handawada *kaghai*, 1st half.
8. Ditto, 2nd half.
9. Ahekele *kaghai*, 1st half.
10. Ditto, 2nd half.

Of these, nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 only contained *paghai* village sites. In February 1930 the main village was still settled in no. 9, but the *penda* slopes in nos. 9 and 10 had been exhausted, and those in no. 1 had been partly cultivated for the first year and were being reaped. Nos. 9 and 10 had lasted for six years and, though the villagers had started to cultivate no. 1 a long way below the village site in no. 9 and on the other side of the Goinder river, they were only then at harvest time starting to shift the village to the *paghai* in no. 2; in fact, the labour of the first year's work of clearing and cultivating a fresh *penda* slope is so heavy that the shifting of the village itself is, when necessitated by the distance of the existing site

[text continues on p. 109]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Key to Figure 6

Kaghai Names (see p. 107).

1. Kawar, 1st half.
2. Do., 2nd half.
3. Irapmeta.
4. Hitangpal.
5. Kurmelnar.
6. Rekarai.
7. Handawada, 1st half.
8. Do., 2nd half.
9. Ahekele, 1st half.
10. Do., 2nd half.

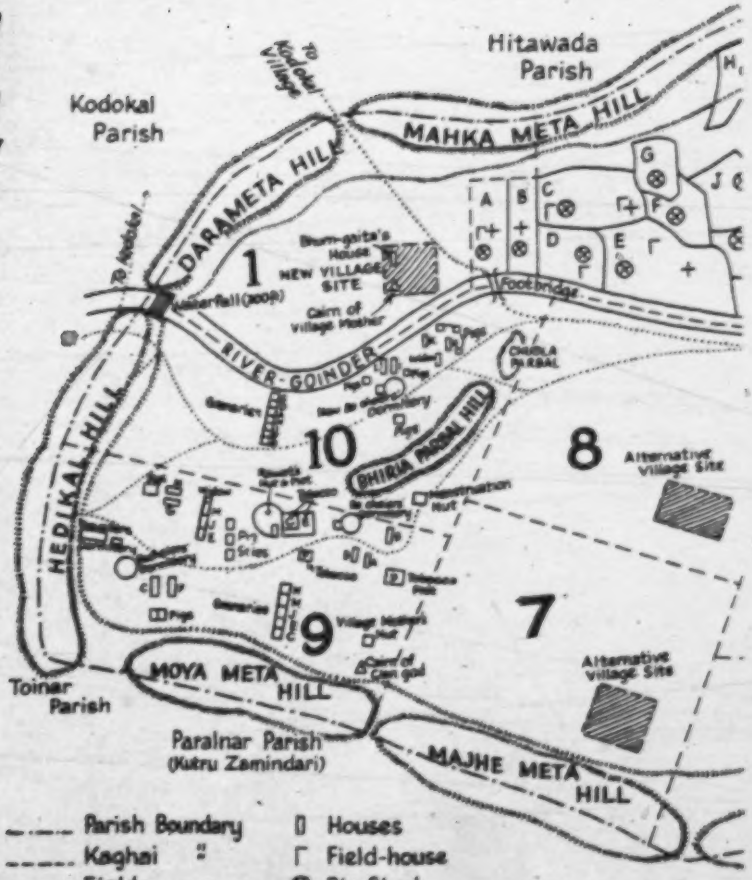
The letters against fields in nos. 2 and 3 and houses and granaries in nos. 1, 3, 9 and 10 refer to the tenants in the list below. Tenants A to N are Gume by clan, O to Q, Tamo.

(*Abbreviations.*—M = mother, W = wife, S = grown-up son, b = boy child, g = girl child, D = marriageable daughter.)

Letter	*Tenant*	*Family*	*Area in acres*	*Rent* Rs. a.
A	Modi s/o Malla	M., cousin's widow	5·00	2 4
B	Lalu s/o Banda, Bhum-gaita	W., 1 b.	4·50	1 12
C	Banda s/o Bursai	W., 2 g.	6·25	3 8
D	Horra s/o Musra	W., 1 g.	3·50	2 4
E	Masa s/o Kule, gaita	W., 1 S., 1 g.	7·50	4 12
F	Pido s/o Doga	W., 1 b.	3·50	2 0
G	Irpa s/o Karanje	W.	1·50	1 8
H	Rama s/o Peda Junga s/o Rama	W., 1 S., 2 g.	4·50	2 4 1 8
I	Kohla s/o Pahandi	W., 1 D., 1 man serving to win daughter's hand	4·00	1 8
J	Doga s/o Wijja	W., 1 b., 1 g.	4·00	1 12
K	Kuma s/o Boda	W., 1 g.	4·50	1 4
L	Juga s/o Wijja	M.	1·50	2 0
M	Malla s/o Gorra, Kasyeq-gaita	W., 1 S., 1 b., 1 g.	5·50	2 4
N	Pahandi s/o Karanje	W., M.	2·50	2 12
O	Hara s/o Pandu	W.	3·00	2 4
P	Bandi s/o Kuli	W., M., 2 b.	5·00	2 12
Q	Musra s/o Pandu	W.	2·25	2 4
		Total Acres	68·50	Rs. 40 12
	There was also in Ahekele Kaghai no. 9 a house shared by a Rawat and a Telugu with a small tobacco plot paying 4 annas rent			4
				Rs. 41 0

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

361
241
621
427



The buildings etc. in Kaghai Nos 9 & 10 are of course drawn too large in comparison to the areas of the Fields in Nos 2 & 3; actually they left ample room for fields in Nos 9 & 10, but had become more scattered when those fields became exhausted

FIGURE 6
PARISH MAP OF HANDAWADA

[p. 108(A)]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

361
241
621
427

FIGURE 6
OF HANDAWADA

[p. 108(B)]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

from the fresh cultivation site, postponed till after the first harvest has been raised on the latter. This is inconvenient only to the women, as from the time when the new *kosra* comes into ear till the harvest is over all the men sleep apart from their wives in their fields, while their womenfolk have to sleep in the village, it being taboo for women to sleep in the fields and to have sexual intercourse during this period. As it was inconvenient for the bachelors to sleep in the dormitory (*gotul-lon*) on the hill-top village in Ahekele *paghai*, a temporary dormitory had been made near the river, actually in Ahekele *haghai* no. 10, but close to the bridge by which the villagers crossed the river to their *penda* fields in Kawar *haghai*; and there were also four houses there, and a row of granaries, that site having been more convenient for some of the villagers whose fields had been on the lower slopes of *haghai* no. 10 when that was being cultivated. Handawada is a village of the Gume clan; and all the houses in the village on Ahekele *paghai*, those by the river in *haghai* no. 10, and the one advance-guard house in Kawar *paghai*, as well as all the *penda* fields in Kawar *haghai* no. 1, belonged to members of the Gume clan: but in the small Irpmeta *haghai* no. 3 three families of the Tamo clan, with which the Gume clan may intermarry, had been allowed to have *penda* cultivation and to build houses and granaries; the wives had all been Gume girls. In the new village site, Kawar *paghai*, one villager had already built his house, to which I referred above as the advance-guard house, because he had been sent to make an experimental *penda* field in Kawar *haghai* no. 1 a year in advance of the rest of the villagers, in accordance with custom; on the success of this experimental cultivation depends the villagers' decision whether to migrate *en masse* in the following year. There was also a newly made cairn close by where a ceremony in honour of the Village Mother had been performed as an essential preliminary to the shifting of the village. When I next camped in the parish in March 1934, the villagers had for three years occupied Kawar *paghai*, and the houses were dirty and smoke-blackened; the villagers had found the site feverish and unhealthy owing to its proximity to the river, there had been several deaths, and Kawar *haghai* nos. 1 and 2 had each been exhausted in two years. Their Tamo relatives had exhausted Irpmeta *haghai* and left the parish. The *Bhum-gaita* and another villager had been sent ahead to make experimental *penda* plots in Hitangpal *haghai* (no. 4), and the villagers proposed to shift the village during 1935 to the village site in that *haghai* or the adjacent Kurmelnar *haghai* (no. 5); the experiments in Hitangpal had succeeded, and the villagers were to start their *penda* felling in a few days.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

166 When shifting is to begin, all the parish lands being lands of
• 361 the clan, the *wadda'i* or priest of the clan-god is usually consulted;
787 he is generally himself the *laski* or medium whom the god possesses,
791 and if the god through him directs that the village should be shifted,
778 he leads the villagers to the new site; sometimes the *wadda'i* himself is not a medium, but keeps a *laski* as an assistant. At the new site the *kasyeq-gaita* clears a small patch of ground in honour of the Village Mother, and on this offers an egg, some grain and flowers in her name, over which he places stones in a basketry cylinder or as a cairn. This will remain as her shrine in the new village, sometimes, as we have seen, inside the dormitory fencing, sometimes outside it but in the main village street, or sometimes right outside the village in a grove, a shed being erected over it. The removal of the cairn would be an omen of disaster, only to be avoided by shifting the village. The Orcha villagers had only a small table-stone at the foot of a *saja* tree in a grove to mark their Village Mother. Handawada, besides a cairn, had a forked stick of *saja* wood oiled and polished, and whipped round the fork with *kasa* silk whipping, with a leaning thatched roof to protect her from the elements. Whatever form her shrine or representation may take, it is left behind when the village is deserted, and not shifted to the new village; for it is regarded as valuable evidence of the clan or parish property in the land. The only things removed are the pots in which grain, etc., is cooked at the Mother's feasts, the cooking utensils and the knives, which the *kasyeq-gaita* or [184] religious headman must himself carry under his arm, *not* on his head, which is taboo, to the shed erected to house them near the Mother's shrine in the new village.

361 In the villages which I have seen being shifted, the earliest
166 buildings to be erected have been the village dormitory, the houses of the 'advance guard', the religious and the secular headmen, and the menstruation hut. Villagers often put up their pig-sties before their own houses. A temporary dormitory is often put up to house the bachelors, and replaced after the houses have been built by a more permanent and elaborate structure.

The villagers remove all their utensils and household goods from their old to their new houses when the village is shifted. But they move no building materials; they leave the deserted houses to the mercy of the elements, which means that they are soon choked in the mass of high grass and scrub jungle that immediately springs up on the deserted site, and probably burnt down when the forest undergrowth is fired in the following spring.

[text continues on p. 112]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria

343 the wefts are of split bamboo. The corners of the walls are further secured by cords stitched through the two wicker walls round the corner warp and the corner pile. Wherever beams cross, they are [283] lashed with *siari* twine or thicker rope. The door of a single granary is usually a sliding piece of bamboo wicker-work; but in the long granaries it is a section of *tum* grass fence or bamboo wicker-work fastened in position by obliquely crossing bamboos.

251 These granaries contain immense quantities of *kosra* and other hill grains, rice, beans, dried forest fruits, etc., in big bins of bamboo basketry, smaller baskets, and large *chiptis* or lidded boxes of leaves on a framework of cane or twigs. The bins are all lidded with stitched-leaf tops, tied round the rim with creeper cord, like the paper top of an English jam-jar. The Marias store here also dried rolls of tobacco leaves, coils of creeper and other ropes, and gourds of all shapes and sizes for making spoons, ladles and water-bottles; and when they used *moghi* dancing shields and peacock plumes attached to them they used to hang them under the eaves except when they wrapped them in leaves and hung them in the tops of trees.

342 513 The village dormitory, as has been said above, is generally in the centre and at one end of the village street. It is a long-house made with no partitions, surrounded generally with a bamboo wattle-work fence; and it is practically a roofed *alpanji* or sleeping platform, the criss-cross bamboo framework of which covers almost the whole floor at a height of about 2½ feet above the floor. Often it is entered from in front by a door under the highest point of the eaves, to which access is gained by a narrow horizontal gangway of logs raised the same height above the ground as the sleeping platform and extending from the outer fence to the door; persons entering the dormitory climb on to the gangway by a rough stile, consisting of a tree stump set in the ground between two vertical posts which serve as railings. [374] The interior is badly grimed with smoke, as log fires are lit at night under the sleeping platform, the only door is fastened, and there is no window or vent for the escape of smoke. I have never found anything inside a dormitory except two or three drums and occasionally the shrine of the Village Mother.

The 'gotul-lon'

B. Bison-horn Maria Villages, Houses, and their Contents

• 361 Of Hill Maria villages the essential thing to remember is that they shift as the cultivation shifts, and so seldom remain more than four or five years in one place. The few villages that have good permanent rice fields tend now to become more or less permanent.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

PLATE XI

482
142
291
301
415

HILL MARIA WOMEN CARRYING GOURDS OF WATER

HILL MARIA WOMAN CARRYING A LEAF-BOX OF GRAIN

(Photographs by Baron E. von Eichstedt)

361 ●
342

BISON-HORN MARIA VILLAGE STREET, TELAM, NEAR KATAKALIAN

[FACING p. 118]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

361 [423] The population is comparatively small, and the land available for the shifting *penda* cultivation is very extensive. There is practically no individual property in *penda* land, and it is recognized only in permanent rice fields.

361 241 178 621 In comparison, the Bison-horn Maria country is thickly populated; there is far more permanent rice cultivation; much old *penda* land has lost its forest growth, or is getting steadily slower in recuperating it after each time when it is felled and burnt for *penda* cultivation; and each villager likes to have a large *bari* or garden enclosure at the back of his house or in the immediate neighbourhood of the village where he can grow tobacco, maize, chillies, tomatoes and sesamum, and can pen his cattle for the sake of their manure. In consequence, economic considerations now operate in favour of the permanency of Bison-horn Maria villages and against their being shifted; as the pressure on the land has become greater the alternative sites (*padar*), to which in past generations a village was from time to time shifted, have been permanently occupied by hamlets (*para*) of that village, and the settlers in the hamlets have permanently occupied the adjacent *penda* sites once cultivated in rotation by the shifting village. Many big Bison-horn villages have six or seven hamlets, some of which are virtually separate villages, and are beginning to assert a separate identity by having their own headmen and sometimes their own village priests, though on formal occasions all will still gather together at the original *padar* of the village and its hamlets, and acknowledge there the authority of the headman and priest of the parent village. In the Abujhmar hills, moreover, each village is still inhabited almost entirely by members of one clan, and all the lands of the villages are regarded as the lands of the clan. But in the Bison-horn country, though each parish is still said to be the *bhum* (earth) of the clan which first settled there, yet there are generally in the village many houses of other clans and wife-clans, from whom the first settlers and their descendants have taken wives. Though they will still say that a certain village is the *bhum* [423] of the clan that founded it, yet in consequence of the many representatives of other clans settled there now the village and its lands are not looked on as that clan's property in anything like the same degree as among the Hill Marias, nor in actual fact is the original clan so free to shift the village as it was before it allowed its wife-clans to share its village site and cultivable lands. Often, too, the headman is no longer a member of the settler clan. If, [166] therefore, a Bison-horn village does shift in these days, the move is probably due to superstitious motives, or to epidemic or epizootic disease.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

361 The villages being permanent in comparison to the Hill Maria villages, they are apt naturally to be considerably dirtier, and this is 364 accentuated by the far larger numbers of cattle and goats that the 177 greater wealth of the Bison-horn Marias enables them to keep. The houses, too, are far dirtier and more smoke-grimed, though in places the Hindu practice of constantly replastering the floors with fresh cow-dung is coming in. They are smaller also, as the spread of cultivation has restricted the available sources of timber and bamboo; but where ample forest is near, the houses are larger, and sleeping sheds for the men as well as cattle byres make individual homesteads appear larger than the homes of the Hill Marias.

342 The long-houses of the Hill Marias are never seen in the Bison-
361 horn Maria villages. Individualism is becoming yearly more marked among the Bison-horn Marias, and every man likes to have his own house and property distinct from his brothers and cousins. Their houses, instead of being parallel to the village street are generally at right angles to it, and a double row of houses, one on each side of the street, is often impossible, because the houses are too close to each other to allow each house to have its *bari* (garden enclosure) behind it, so that some householders (like those of houses B and E in the rough sketch of part of Telam village on page 121) must have their *bari* opposite them across the street. Each [351] *bari* is fenced right round with bamboo wattle-work, so that the fences of the *baris* opposite the line of houses appear like a continuous wattle-work wall along one side of the street. But there may be in the middle of the street occasional granaries or other buildings, and the houses are often irregularly scattered about with no pretence of formal alignment, so that the ordered arrangement of a Hill Maria village is completely absent. There are as many [231] pig-sties in Bison-horn as in Hill Maria villages, but they are far less elaborately and adequately constructed, though protected, like the Hill Maria sties, by leaning thatches from the sun.

361 The houses of the clan that founded the village are usually all together in one group, and there are separate groups for each of the clans with which it intermarries.

343 There appears to be no common menstruation hut among
841 the Bison-horn Marias, nor, indeed, any special menstruation room in their houses. A special hut or booth is erected near the house for the delivery of a child, and in a few villages near the borders of the Hill Maria country there is a hut called the *Piki-kurma* for each group of houses, where apparently young girls are segregated for their first menstruation; but I noted that I might have misunderstood the information that I was given about this hut, and in villages in the heart of the Bison-horn country was definitely told

[text continues on p. 122]

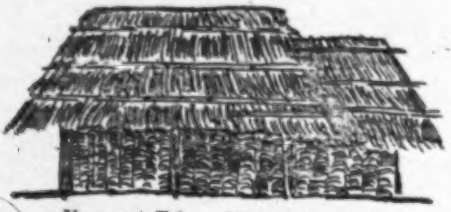
1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

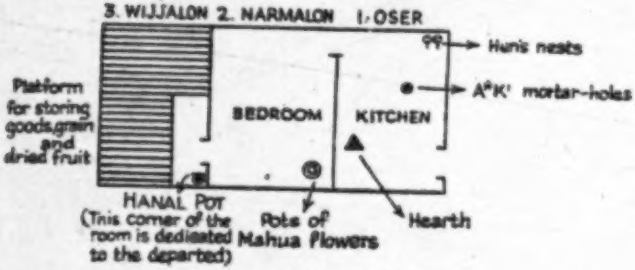
PLATE XII

BISON-HORN MARIA VILLAGE AND HOUSE

342

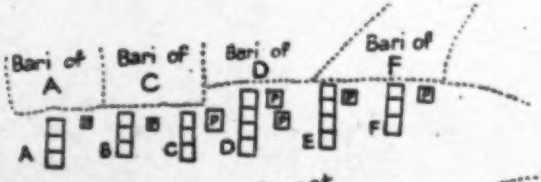


House at Telam, May 11th, 1930.

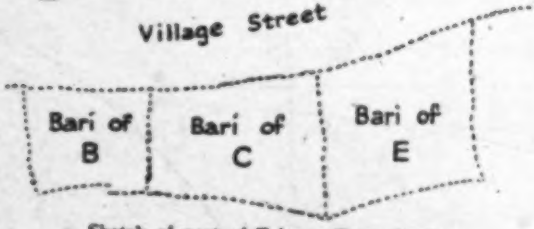


Rough ground-plan of house.

361



Village Street



Sketch of part of Telam village street.

KEY

P - Pig-sty

H - House

----- - Bamboo wattlework fence

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

343 841 that there was no custom of segregating menstruating girls or women.

There is in every Bison-horn village a *paik-gotul* or lodging-hut 342 for State officials, but I have never seen a *gotul-lon* dormitory for bachelors. I was once told that there are such dormitories in a few big villages such as Ghotpal, Karli, Tumnar, Massenar and Dugeli, but could not find one in these villages; nor did the State officials who gathered information for me in various parts of the Bison-horn country ever report their existence. The *pedas* (headmen) and *permas* (village priests) whom I saw at Aranpur and other camps stated that such dormitories were a degraded institution found only among Hill Marias and Murias. They are not mentioned by Madras writers on the Koyas and Dorlas.

● 361 Bison-horn villages are not found on the tops of hills and isolated spurs like Hill Maria villages. They are located in positions convenient for communications, water supply or cultivation, like lowland villages in all countries. Many of them, especially in [487] the Jagdalpur tahsil, have cart tracks leading to them, though these 443 are used mainly by the Hindu and Mohammedan traders who bring their wares to the various weekly markets already established in their bigger villages. Though, however, some Bison-horn Marias [492] have carts, and more keep cattle and do not always leave it to the Rawat herdsman servant to milk them, while many use ploughs, yet the majority of them still think it not the thing for Koitor to drive carts, or that they could never manage them; and there are, therefore, very many villages approachable only by footpaths. [491] They make bridges very similar to those of the Hill Marias, often on a more elaborate scale.

361 787 166 The only Bison-horn Maria village where I could find memory of a fairly recent shifting was Bare Gudra, in the Kuakonda *pargana* of Dantewara tahsil. My informant was Kartami Mukka, the old village priest (*perma*) of the village, who said that when he was young the village was settled in the now abandoned Mundi *padar* (village site); there was heavy mortality from epidemic and epizootic outbreaks for some years, and a series of crop failures. Then the eggs in his father's house began always to get addled, and his father, the *perma*, interpreting this as a final intimation that the village had to be shifted, called up the elders to see the eggs, and they agreed that the village must be shifted. They had then, on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday, to go at noon with the *perma* to select the *padar* for the new village; and to test the omens at the new *padar* the *perma* dug a small hole in the ground. In the first hole he found a root growing across the hole, and so changed to another position

Shifting villages

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

in the same *padar*, and here he was able to dig a hole without any root growing across it; a few roots at the side of the hole did not matter, and the finding of a stone when the hole was half dug was considered lucky. In this hole he planted a pole of *saja* wood with a forked top, to one arm of which he had tied a bundle of thatching grass, and after filling in the hole around it with earth he sprinkled some grains of rice in two heaps in front of the pole in the name of the Village Mother, the clan-god and the local spirits. The next morning he came with the elders to inspect the two heaps of grain, and as he found them scattered about, he had to dig a fresh hole exactly as before, plant the *saja* pole in it, and lay two heaps of grain again in front of it. Next morning they found the two heaps undisturbed, and so considered that the omens favoured this as the village site. The *saja* pole was left there to serve as one of the supports for the roof-tree of the *perma's* house, and the building of the new village was begun without further ceremony. Had the heaps of grain been found again disturbed, they would have decided against that *padar* and tested the omens in the same way in another *padar*. A sacrifice to the Village Mother and the Earth (*Bhum*) had preceded the actual settling in the new site.

Houses

On page 121 are a rough sketch and ground-plan of a typical Bison-horn Maria house in the village of Telam in Kuakonda *pargana*. The inner house, consisting of the *wijja-lon* ('seed-house') in the rear, and the *narma-lon* ('middle house') in front of it, is made first; and then the *oser* ('veranda') is added, with slightly lower eaves. Though from indoors the *oser* seems just an integral part of the house, the different levels of the eaves make the house look from the outside like two card houses built on different levels. Sometimes also a second or even a third *oser* has subsequently been built on to the first, each with lower eaves, increasing still further the card house appearance. The thatch is of forest grasses or of the dwarf palms (*Phoenix sylvestris* and *Phoenix farinifera*) which are such common features of the undergrowth of the Bastar forests, and is neater than the thatch of Hill Maria houses. The doors are usually pieces of bamboo wicker-work sliding between pairs of vertical posts, like the doors of the Hill Maria houses; but sometimes the sections of wicker-work are hinged on to a doorpost by knotted pieces of split bamboo. In the richer and more advanced villages, wooden doors and padlocks are not unknown.

The *wijja-lon*, like the Hill Maria's *lonu*, is used both as a store-room and for the cult of the Departed. There being no pile granaries or long granaries, the year's harvest, not only of grain but also of forest produce, is stored in the *wijja-lon*, and so a storage platform

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

CHAPTER TWO

THE MURIA'S LIVELIHOOD

I. The Muria Village

BEFORE approaching the main subject of this book, it is necessary to see how the chelik and motiari live at home. In a sense, there is no such thing as a typical Muria village any more than there is a typical Muria house. But most of the villages conform to the Gond pattern: they are set among trees—the Muria seem fonder of shade than wind and do not often choose the hill-tops beloved of the Maria and Baiga—and each house is enclosed within a separate fence that also surrounds its garden. There is thus a sharp distinction between a Muria and a Hill Maria village: the latter, like the Baiga village, consists of a row of houses joined together and opening on to a common street. Traces of this survive among the Muria in the enclosures of some of their leading men; at Markabera, for example, the headman's house is like a little village, a long enclosure with a small street on to which face many dwelling-places and granaries. In Palli-Barkot, and other western villages also, groups of related families build their houses to open round a square.

But generally the houses are scattered about, sometimes widely scattered, to suit the lie of the land and the dimensions of the gardens, and a street connects them with each other. There is no sociological significance in the layout of the village; neither the headman's nor the priest's houses nor the ghotul are ever in a special or recognized position.

The houses, nearly always two or three in number round a small courtyard, are built of timber or bamboo plastered with mud and have thatched roofs. As we move east we find the verandahs getting deeper and deeper until in the east of Kondagaon the verandah of the main house is often deeper than the room inside. Where houses are built like this, there is no need for special menstruation huts, which are indeed only to be found in the west in the neighbourhood of the Abujhmar, where there is no room to seclude a woman on the small verandahs.

To visit a Muria village is to receive a general impression of tidiness and cleanness, careful industry that exploits to the full the gifts of Mother Earth, and a love of animals. The pigsties are substantial, often with a double roof; the cattle-sheds are sometimes raised on pillars; sitting hens are given comfortable nests raised well above the ground. The houses themselves are cosy and homely, crammed with every sort of basket, leaf-bundle and utensil. Fish-traps, drums, wooden clogs hang from the roof, and flutes and bows and arrows are stuck under the thatch. Inside, in an inner room, is kept the mysterious Pot of the Departed where the family's ancestors are tended and placated.

These houses are the work-rooms of the chelik and motiari; they are the homes only of the married. The life and interest of chelik and motiari centre in the ghotul. But life there is definitely regarded as a preparation and training for the home. Those who live well and work hard in the dormitories will be good husbands and wives, fathers and mothers later on.

Most of the Muria are undoubtedly very poor. I was one day discussing with W. V. Grigson, who had visited Mandla after several years in Bastar, whether the Bastar villagers were poorer than those in the Central Provinces. I suggested—and he agreed—that probably the Bastar villagers were actually poorer, but that their lives were so much richer that they seemed far more

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 A W32 Gond A W32
Muria

THE GHOTUL BUILDINGS

883 X 342

of several hamlets, there will probably be a large ghotul in the main village (where officials usually halt) and small ones in the hamlets.

In all such villages there is a separate building in the middle of the village for officials. In Masora, for example, there was a large Thana-gudi inside the village, and away on the outskirts, among trees, is a small hut with a fenced compound in front. This is the home of the chelik and motiari. In Baniagaon, a predominantly Hindu village with a school, the ghotul is similarly separated from the officials' halting-place, and is a single building with a small door facing away from the village towards the forest. In Kachora, near by, you may see the same type of ghotul, even further removed from the ordinary dwelling-places of the village, beyond the shrine of the Village Mother, perhaps because an aggressive Brahmin lives there and tries to dominate the Muria. I obviously cannot give a list of all such villages, though there are not very many of them. In the Chalka Pargana, I think of Kajen, Naria and Maranar as places where the Thana-gudi was separate from the ghotul. In such villages there is sometimes not even a fence to isolate the compound; that is not necessary, forest and field keep the children separate from the world. But in all there is a small secret door, a hatch which you have to bend down to and climb over—not unlike the door by which Alice entered Wonderland.

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But, as I have said, in the majority of Muria villages the Thana-gudi is combined with the Koitur-ghotul, and this influences both its plan and its location. Officials will not want to camp outside the village in the jungle; they will need a hut for their horses, and accommodation for servants. And so we get the large ghotul with its spacious compound, standing in the very heart of the village, which is familiar to every touring officer in the north of Bastar. This arrangement is unsatisfactory and was never contemplated by the Administration. Into the very heart of Muria life is injected the all-too-often poisonous contact of every casual wanderer. There is a type of touring subordinate who makes a point of halting in ghotul where it is known that there are pretty motiari and pesters the chelik to pimp for them—which to their honour, be it said, they never do. Contractors for myrabolams or tendu leaves camp for days in the ghotul, making it impossible for the boys and girls to live their normal lives. I once found an opium-seller permanently established in a ghotul with his wife, thus outraging the fundamental Muria rule that the presence of a married woman there is an offence to Lingo Pen. He was removed at once by the Administrator, but Bastar is a big place and it is impossible to say in how many other places the integrity of the ghotul is thus destroyed. This is, of course, the Muria's own fault. It is due to the slackness and selfishness of the older men who want the youngsters to do all the work. It is thus difficult to do anything about it.

Let us examine some of the villages which have ghotul of this type. Often, so long as there are no visitors, the enlarged ghotul is all to the advantage of the boys and girls. In Markabera, for example, chelik and motiari have in all five different sleeping-places and a spacious compound. The house with the very deep verandah is, of course, the original ghotul and the other buildings have developed from it to meet the pressure of outside visitations. But the extra room thus provided and the open sheds available as dormitories are a boon to the children's health. The one-room ghotul with its tiny door and no windows and its crowded floor, its stuffy smoky atmosphere, cannot be good for anyone.

Fortunately—from this point of view—the larger type of ghotul is far the most common. This model with its central house with deep verandah, spacious inner room, large door, open hut for conference or sleep in the hot

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CLASSIFIED LIST OF GHOTUL VILLAGES

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This Appendix gives a fairly complete list of ghotul-villages, so far as I was able to discover them during the Census operations of 1940-1; the figures in the third and fourth columns are those for chelik and motiari at that date. They were obtained through the revenue officials and in all the marked villages were carefully checked by members of my party. I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the figures in the unmarked villages.

In order that the reader can see the extent of my inquiries, and the amount of research achieved or unavoidably omitted in any area, I have added to the list of ghotul the following information:

*** means that I myself have visited the ghotul or that I am intimately acquainted with its members. Two or more of my colleagues also have visited the place, and all information has been carefully checked. Those ghotul that I know better than others have their names printed in large type. The initials S.H. stand for Mr Shamrao Hivale.

** means that the village has been visited by two or more members of my party, and that I have reasonably full and confirmed knowledge of the ghotul and its affairs.

* means that the village has been visited by members of the party, but that I have only general information about it.

The letter 'J' in the second column means that the ghotul is of the older *jodidār* type; the letters 'AB' mean that it is of the *adal-badal* type where partners are changed.

Any future investigator should not rely too much on these notes. A ghotul which was large and flourishing in 1941 may have entirely changed its character by 1947. Boys and girls grow up and make a once dull ghotul interesting: others marry and deprive a formerly lively ghotul of its most prominent members.

The Kondagaon Tahsil

Amrawati Pargana

A pargana to the extreme east of Kondagaon, lying in and round the Makri Reserved Forest. There are not many Muria villages and most of them are under Oriya or Bhattra influence.

Darli ..	..	9	7
* Gudsara ..	AB	10	8
Gumri ..	..	7	7

Aonri Pargana

This pargana comprises villages scattered over the northern plateau to the east of the Keskal and Kongur Parganas. The ghotul are said to be of the *adal-badal* type, and the chelik dance the Mahua Dandar and not the Pus Kolang. Marriages are celebrated in the bride's house.

Aonri ..	..	18	15
Charbera ..	..	10	8
Harwakodo	..	7	4
Khetarpal	..	13	12
Kongera ..	..	8	6
Kosmi ..	..	10	9
Nawagarh	..	20	15
Nayanar ..	..	12	10

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Nirachhindli ..	..	15	11
Palora ..	..	9	9
Sawala ..	..	16	15
Sonpur ..	..	8	7

Bamni Pargana

A small pargana south-west of Kondagaon town, in the neighbourhood of the Golawand Reserved Forest.

*** Bamni ..	J	30	22	
* Borgaon ..	AB	8	7	
* Dhansuli ..	AB	9	9	
* Totar ..	AB	10	9	

Bangoli Pargana

The Bangoli Pargana consists of a few villages in the west-central area, adjoining the Narayanpur Tahsil. Chelik and motiari dress in almost Jhoria fashion.

** Banchapai	AB	10	9	
** Bangoli ..	AB	10	8	
*** CHIMRI ..	J	15	14	Camped here 21-3-41. Many small *kotokal* stones.
** Chiyanar ..	AB	10	9	
** Kehalakot ..	AB	11	10	Met and talked with several boys in 1941.
** Morenga ..	J	18	14	

Chalha Pargana

This is one of the Jhoria Parganas, and its villages are friendly and attractive. It lies to the west of the tahsil, parallel to the Narayanpur-Chota Dongar road, which is only five miles away across low hills. The river Baordig runs through the pargana.

*** ADNAR ..	AB	14	12	An important religious centre. Camped here on 31-3-41 for festival described at pp. 218ff.
*** Alwar Jogi	AB	5	4	Camped here 30-3-41.
* Alwar Karati	J	7	5	
* Banagaon ..	AB	7	8	
* Barko ..	AB	8	8	
* Bawri ..	J	7	5	
*** BAYANAR ..	J	18	16	A pretty village under a hill, whereon are many shrines. Camped here in March, 1941.
** Cherang ..	J	10	9	
* Chichdong ..	AB	12	11	
* Junganiban	AB	15	12	
*** KEJANG ..	AB	15	13	Very charming and interesting boys of whom I saw a lot at Bayanar and Telanga.
* Kongera ..	AB	8	7	
* Korobera ..	J	7	7	
* Maragaon ..	AB	10	10	
** Mungwal ..	AB	12	9	
*** NARIVA ..	AB	14	12	An interesting ghotul with friendly boys. Visited 22-3-41.
* Nugali ..	AB	9	7	
* Pala ..	AB	12	12	

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*** TEMRUGAON	J	13	14	On the banks of the Baordig. Camped 22–24-3-41.
*** Telanga ..	J	12	11	Visited 27-3-41. Saw a wedding and incident described on p. 521.
* Toram ..	J	9	7	

Hatiya Pargana

This pargana, whose name implies a 'bazaar' or civilized area, is a very large and scattered one, extending over the whole area north of Kondagaon. It includes Dongrigura only four miles from Kondagaon, and Sidhawand forty miles to the north. Generally the Pus Kolang and Diwali dances are not performed; marriages are at the bride's house; and the megalithic culture has practically disappeared.

*** ALOR ..	AB	72	58	Magnificent ghotul and dancing. S.H. visited on 17-4-41 and V.E. on 15-11-41. Pillar to Lingo Pen.
Arandi ..	..	20	24	
Baijanpuri	..	13	14	
Bail ..	..	10	10	
*** Bara Dongar	AB	7	6	Beautiful village with Hindu temples. Bazaar and school. Small Muria hamlet with ghotul. Visited in 1937 and several times afterwards.
* Barbatar ..	AB	15	12	
Bayalpur ..	..	7	6	
* Belgaon ..	AB	8	7	
*** BERMA ..	J	23	17	Friendship begun on 12-11-40, other contacts on 3-7-3-41 and 1-3-12-41. Admirable headman and friendly children.
* Bhandarwandi	AB	13	12	
** Bhiragaon	J	10	10	
* Bhumka ..	AB	11	9	
*** Bisrampuri	AB	79	57	Visited on 7-11-40.
** Chandagaon	AB	10	11	
Chhindli ..	..	23	12	
Chichari ..	..	8	9	
* Chilputi ..	AB	23	22	
* Dariya ..	AB	5	6	
Deodongar	..	16	14	
Deoharduli	..	9	8	
* Deokhargaon	AB	9	11	
Dondra ..	..	10	8	
*** DONGRIGURA	AB	17	16	Camped here with B. S. Guha 22-2-41. Guha took measurements of Muria here and in neighbouring villages.
Gare ..	..	16	14	
Guhaborand	..	9	8	
Halda ..	..	7	7	
Hatma ..	..	9	8	
Honawandi	..	9	6	
Jorekera ..	..	11	10	
Kalgaon ..	..	8	8	
** Karagaon ..	J	13	14	
* Karmari ..	AB	8	4	
Khajrawand	..	14	17	
Khalari ..	..	12	18	
* Khargaon	AB	21	15	
Kibra ..	..	8	8	

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**	Kohkametta	J	9	7	
***	KOKORI ..	AB	15	14	Camped here 22-31-12-41. A good headman, but ghotul disturbed as result of scandal the previous year. Good boys' dancing.
*	Korabargaon	J	6	7	
	Kosahaduli	..	12	13	
	Kumarbargaon	..	11	6	
	Machhli ..	..	5	8	
***	MAGHEDA ..	AB	20	15	Delightful village near the Jeypore border. Visited 30-12-41.
*	Manjhiborand	AB	13	11	
	Manjhichera	..	21	19	
	Masukokori	..	15	8	
	Nalajhar ..	..	6	7	
	Narna ..	..	8	5	
***	PALARI ..	J	26	23	Visited on 26-2-42 with B. S. Guha. Very friendly ghotul.
	Parond ..	..	14	15	
	Patla ..	..	8	5	
***	Pendrawand	AB	10	9	Visited 6-11-40.
	Pitechuwa..	..	7	5	
*	Pusapal ..	AB	8	6	
***	SIDHAWAND	AB	20	14	Visited 3-7-11-40 and 3-7-3 41 for a wedding. Many other contacts with chelik.
	Siwnipal ..	..	10	8	
*	Taragaon ..	J	9	8	
	Tewsa ..	..	8	10	
**	Themgaon..	AB	10	8	
	Toskopal ..	..	27	18	
***	ULERA ..	AB	21	16	Pretty village, visited 26-12-41, with excellent headman and large ghotul. Near Jeypore border. Falconry and fairly good dancing.
	Undri ..	..	11	6	
	Yeranga ..	..	27	30	

Keskal Pargana

The Keskal Pargana is fairly homogeneous, in the north-west corner of the tahsil. Much of it is composed of the hills known as the Mari Hills on the edge of the plateau overlooking Kanker State. As always where external influence is strong the Muria here are suspicious and unfriendly. The chelik dance the Pus Kolang, know the legend of Lingo, but marriages are in the bride's house, and memorial menhirs are not erected.

***	Amgaon ..	J	20	15	Visited 7-11-40. Good dancing and games.
	Amaguhan	..	5	7	
	Badra ..	..	6	6	
*	Batrali ..	AB	11	12	
	Chikladih ..	..	8	9	
	Harwel ..	..	12	10	
	Jamgaon ..	..	6	6	
	Khale Chandeli	..	15	12	
	Kodobhat	..	8	7	
	Kudalwahi	..	9	5	
	Manikpur ..	..	12	13	
	Matenga ..	..	16	12	

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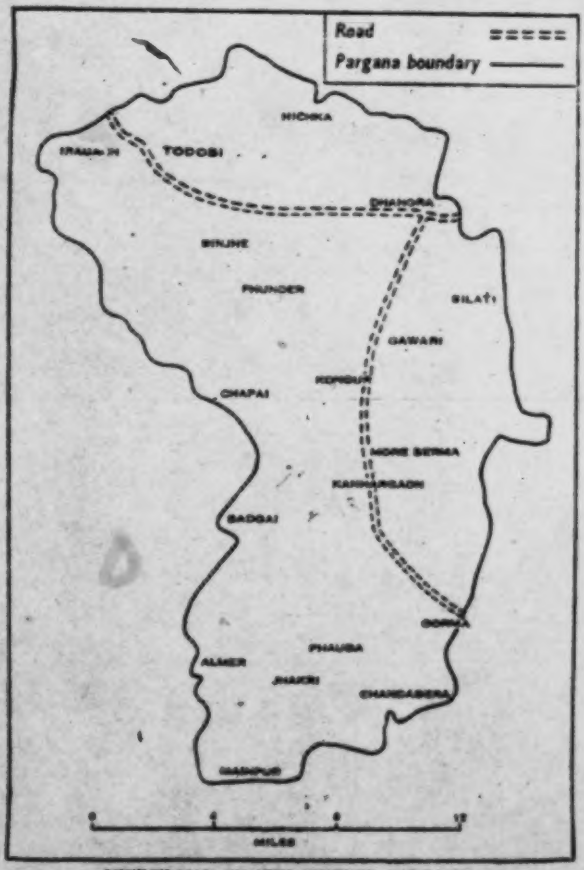
** Mohpal	..	AB	10	9
* Salebhat	..	AB	12	9
* Sargipal	..	AB	7	8
Umradah	..	..	7	3
Uparmurmend		..	11	9

Kongur Pargana

This delightful pargana contains some of the most characteristic ghotul in the State. It lies between Bara Dongar to the east and the Bara Jhorian, Kolur, Baragaon and Benur Parganas to the west. As you move across it you leave



SKETCH-MAP OF THE KONGUR PARGANA

typical Kondagaon villages where the Chait Dandar is danced and the boys have little decoration, and come to as typical Jhoria villages, where the Lingo legend

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is known, the Pus Kolang and Diwali are danced, marriages are celebrated in the bridegroom's house, and a full megalithic culture survives. There is a range of pleasant hills in the east of the pargana.

***	Almer ..	AB	17	15	Visited 23-4-41.
	Amgaon ..	..	9	8	
*	Badgai ..	AB	23	25	
*	Baniagaon	AB	10	9	
*	Banjora ..	AB	10	5	
*	Barda ..	AB	13	8	
**	Bargaon ..	AB	23	17	
	Barwar ..	..	11	12	
*	Belgaon ..	AB	8	7	
*	Bhatgaon ..	J	11	8	
	Bhongapal ..	..	12	10	
***	BINJHE ..	AB	41	37	Camped here 10-12-41.
**	Bokrabera ..	AB	22	19	
*	Botha ..	J	9	7	
**	Bulki Junganar	AB	15	13	
***	CHANDABERA	AB	24	17	Visited with S.H. 12-14-11-41. Admirable headman and ghotul.
***	Chaniyagaon	AB	34	23	
**	Chapai ..	J	15	13	
	Chhindlibera	..	9	9	
*	Churegaon	AB	20	17	
*	Daure ..	J	8	7	
*	Deogaon ..	AB	12	9	
***	Dhanora ..	AB	20	28	Visited 11-12-41. Shrine of Kanda Dokara, Lingo's brother.
	Dundaberma	..	11	9	
*	Eragaon ..	AB	14	12	
*	Gadar ..	AB	10	9	
**	Gawari ..	AB	14	11	
***	GORMA ..	J	20	22	An important village. Saw funeral on 10-11-41. Camp from 7-12-11-41 with S.H.
	Hichka ..	..	10	9	
*	Iragaon ..	AB	9	7	
	Jamgaon ..	..	7	8	
***	JHAKRI ..	AB	17	11	A fascinating village among hills. Friendly and informative ghotul. Visited with S.H. on 11-11-41.
*	Kalepal ..	AB	8	6	
**	Kanagaon	AB	18	16	
***	KANHARGAON	J	13	8	Camp here from 4-12-41 to 22-12-41. Most friendly and interesting.
*	Karmari ..	AB	12	13	
	Karraormetta	..	21	19	
*	Kawagaon	AB	9	9	
**	Khandsara	AB	9	9	
	Khanlikurd	..	10	11	
	Khawlikala	..	9	7	
*	Kokarajunganar	AB	8	9	
*	Kondapakhna	AB	7	8	
***	Kongur ..	AB	62	49	An important village, the headquarters of the pargana.
*	Korgaon ..	AB	19	14	
*	Korkoti ..	AB	10	10	
*	Kotpar ..	J	8	6	
*	Mainpur ..	AB	7	7	

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* Markara ..	AB	16	14	
Misri ..	..	6	5	
* More ..	AB	5	7	
*** Morr Berma	J	24	21	One of the friendliest villages in Bastar. Adjoins Kanhargaon, where I camped 4-22-12-41.
* Net ..	AB	6	5	
* Oragaon ..	AB	7	7	
* Padde ..	AB	8	6	
** Palna ..	AB	10	8	
Parali ..	..	5	3	
** Pharagaon	J	14	12	
*** Phauda ..	AB	20	15	Visited with S.H. 9-11-41. A large lively Jhoria village. Chelik danced at Dongrigura, 25-2-42.
*** Phunder ..	AB	45	39	Visited 8-12-41.
* Randhna ..	AB	13	9	
** Silati ..	AB	11	7	
Timri ..	..	11	9	
*** Todosi ..	AB	27	25	Visited 9-3-38 with S.H. A rather dull village.
* Torand ..	J	9	8	
* Toyapal ..	AB	6	5	
Turki ..	..	7	3	
Umla ..	..	10	10	
* Urandbera	AB	9	9	

Kopra Pargana

A small pargana east of the main Keskal-Jagdalpur road, and a little north of Pharagaon.

* Kopra ..	AB	27	21	
* Korhobera	J	15	12	
Kuldadih ..	..	6	5	
Nawkabera	..	17	11.	
* Taraibera ..	AB	16	15	

Makri Pargana

This pargana lies north of the Amrawati Pargana, in and around the Makri Reserved Forest and a forest reserve described by Grigson as 'a sportsman's paradise full of buffalo, bison, barasing and all the deer of Central India'.

*** Baghbera ..	AB	19	15	A pleasant village, with very friendly ghotul near the Jeypore border. Visited 28-12-41.
Khuri ..	..	8	5	
Lubha ..	..	16	11	
Pirhapal ..	..	7	7	
*** Randiha	AB	21	18	A pretty place among hills. Megalithic substitutes. Legend of Usarengi Palli. Visited 30-12-41.
Sarsa ..	AB	3	4	
** Sorma ..	AB	15	13	

Mardapal Pargana

A large pargana in the extreme south-west of the tahsil. Chota Dongar and the approach to the Abujhmar is only a few miles from its western boundary. It has

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the Golawand Forest on its eastern side and the Beordig river flows through it. Although it is a typical Jhoria pargana, the ghotul has almost entirely disappeared, probably through the influence of Raja Muria from Jagdalpur Tahsil which borders it. But chelik and motiari in full dress go to dance at marriages and festivals. They go as far as the Kondagaon and Narayanpur Marhai in the north and the Ghotpal Marhai in the south. All the intimacies of ghotul life appear to be preserved, even though the buildings have gone.

***	Esalnar ..	AB	18	16	An important and interesting ghotul. Met the chelik and motiari of this and Rengagondi on several occasions. Since the establishment of the Golawand Forest Reserve, Esalnar has been placed in the Bhanpuri Pargana.
***	Rengagondi	J	18	15	

Sampur Pargana

A pargana with very scattered villages in the area to the north of Kondagaon.

*	Athgaon ..	AB	6	9	
*	Babai ..	AB	25	19	
*	Badra ..	AB	8	9	
	Balenga ..	..	22	19	
*	Balond ..	AB	25	23	
	Bansikot ..	..	28	23	
***	Bhanpuri	AB	21	18	Visited 31-10-41-2-11-41. A good village. Saw the 'Diwali Werk' and appointment of a Diwan.
*	Bhiragaon	J	10	9	
	Budra ..	..	14	13	
**	Charkai ..	AB	25	19	
	Chichari ..	..	12	15	
	Gattipalna	..	10	3	
*	Girola ..	AB	12	11	
	Jarkongera	..	14	12	
***	Jungani ..	AB	27	19	Witnessed the boys and girls doing the Mahua Dandar on 2-4-41.
	Kilsilbalenga	..	10	7	
*	Kokori ..	AB	24	19	
	Kosagaon ..	..	4	3	
**	Lihagaon ..	AB	31	31	
*	Lohar ..	AB	8	7	
**	Otenda ..	AB	34	29	
	Pasangi ..	..	10	6	
	Pirhapal ..	..	11	12	
**	Rajpur ..	AB	20	18	
	Satgaon ..	..	3	4	
***	Sirai ..	AB	17	15	Saw the motiari dance the Diwali on 29-10-41.
***	Sirpur ..	AB	18	23	Visited 28-30-10-41. Good stilt-walking and falconry.
	Termenda	..	5	6	

Semenal Pargana

A pargana with villages so widely scattered all over the tahsil that its name has no geographical significance.

***	Baniagaon	AB	38	33	Large mixed village on main road with school. Visited often.

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* Banjora ..	AB	9	8	
* Baphna ..	AB	9	9	
* Bhandarjuni	AB	42	38	
* Bunagaon	J	11	9	
* Chawrang	AB	12	14	
* Chema ..	AB	8	7	
* Chikalpatti..	AB	5	5	
*** Dahikonga	AB	20	16	Mixed village on main road; ghotul closed in 1941 by landlord's orders.
Gamri ..	..	7	5	
* Golawand	AB	9	8	
** Haddigaon	AB	14	13	
** Hangwar ..	AB	15	10	
*** HATHIPAKNA	AB	20	18	Met chelik on 5-11-41 when they danced magnificently.
*** Jaitpuri ..	AB	20	13	Frequent contacts.
* Jhara ..	AB	8	6	
*** KADONGA ..	AB	27	22	Camped 3-6-11-41 with S.H. One of the most interesting villages.
*** KACHORA ..	AB	12	10	Visited 9-11-3-41. A small ghotul but full of life and wonderful dancing.
** Kanera ..	AB	8	6	
* Karanji ..	J	14	12	
*** Kerawahi ..	AB	36	29	Interesting and informative people.
* Khandam	AB	12	11	
*** Kondagaon	AB	32	29	Ghotul in Jamkot Para. First visited in February 1935 with S.H. W Kaufmann recorded dance music here in February 1941.
* Kusma ..	J	11	9	
*** Lanjora ..	AB	63	56	Figures are for two hamlets. On main road. Bazaar. Visited in 1937 and 1940. My son, three weeks old, made his first acquaintance with the Muria at this camp.
*** MALAKOT ..	AB	27	21	Visited with S.H. 1-5-4-41. Saw two weddings. Lovely open scenery and nice people.
** Maranar ..	AB	19	15	
*** MASORA ..	AB	44	39	First visited by S.H. in March 1938. Made a small permanent camp here and used it as headquarters 1940-2 for Kondagaon Tahsil. Friendly, unspoilt, though on main road.
** Mulmula ..	AB	21	16	
* Newta ..	AB	8	10	
*** PALLI ..	J	64	42	Visited by S.H. 6-4-41. Contacts also in 1942.
Permapal ..	J	12	11	
*** PIPRA ..	J	150	137	Figures are for several hamlets, one of which is Kuntpadar where I camped 11-13-11-40.
* Polang ..	AB	12	11	
** Punewand	AB	10	7	
** Rajagaon ..	AB	8	7	
* Sambalpur	AB	16	13	
* Singarpur	AB	27	25	
** Sonawal ..	AB	15	14	
Tikarwand..	..	3	4	
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THE NARAYANPUR TAHSIL

Amabera Pargana

This pargana occupies the north-east corner of the tahsil. The countryside is hilly, wild and beautiful. The Lingo legend is known and the Pus Kolang dance performed everywhere, as we would expect seeing that this pargana is the scene of many of Lingo's exploits and his central shrine is at Semurgaon. Ghotul buildings here are draughty and uncomfortable, and the people, especially those near the Kanker border, suspicious and unfriendly.

Bara Teora	AB	8	7	
* Boragaon ..	AB	6	5	
* Changori ..	AB	21	19	
* Chichgaon	AB	8	7	
*** Chikhli ..	AB	18	16	A very dull ghotul. Visited 14-16-12-41, and was ill there, but witnessed an interesting elopement.
* Gergaon ..	AB	9	7	
** Kesarbera	AB	8	10	
* Kohchur ..	AB	5	4	
* Koliheri ..	AB	8	9	
*** Lohatar ..	AB	6	7	A mixed village with small ghotul.
* Matla ..	AB	5	5	
Nagarbera..	..	15	11	
Nilgundi ..	..	6	5	
Padargaon	..	10	11	
*** PENJORI ..	AB	17	15	Wild and beautiful village, visited 10-6-40. Good ghotul.
*** PUPGAON ..	AB	20	22	Visited 2-4-12-40.
* Pusaghati	AB	11	9	
Rajpur ..	..	8	7	
*** Semurgaon	AB	9	7	Visited 4-12-40. Shrine of Lingo Pen. Triennial festival.
* Tumasnar	AB	15	14	
Vetrgaon ..	..	6	5	

Antagarh Pargana

Antagarh was formerly the headquarters of the tahsil, until Narayanpur supplanted it in 1940. The pargana runs along the northern boundary of the State. Ghotul customs are similar to those of Amabera, which adjoins Antagarh and is reached by a road descending over 1,000 feet down the Matlaghat. The Antagarh plain is only about 800 feet above sea level, the Chhattisgarhi language is popular and many ideas and customs of the lowlands are gradually invading this and the neighbouring parganas of the northern plain.

Bulawand	..	10	10	
Garda ..	..	8	7	
* Gawrekhasgaon	AB	19	17	
* Ghumsimunda	AB	9	7	
Godri ..	..	11	9	
* Gondbenapal	AB	18	16	
Himora ..	..	12	10	
* Hirriburi ..	AB	8	9	
Jaitanawagaon	..	7	7	
*** Kalgaon ..	AB	14	17	
Kamta ..	..	13	12	
* Kanagaon	AB	11	9	
*** KARIKHODRA	AB	24	23	A charming village three miles from Antagarh with a well-built and flour-

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				ishing ghotul. Visited 9-6-40 and 4-12-40. The traditional scene of Lingo's final ordeal. Name means 'black hole'.
Kanrokhasgaon	..	7	8	
* Khorpani ..	AB	11	10	
* Konechur	AB	7	6	
* Koragaon ..	AB	10	10	
* Kotankhor	AB	11	12	
* Kulchie ..	AB	5	5	
*** Lamkanar	AB	9	9	Visited 8-6-40.
Masbarar ..	..	14	13	
Nawagaon ..	..	8	8	
Paiwari ..	..	4	6	
Pondgaon	..	14	8	
Pungaon ..	..	7	6	
Sureli ..	..	10	10	
* Sore ..	AB	16	14	
* Temrupani	AB	11	12	
Topal ..	..	9	8	
Yetebalka	..	4	3	

Bandadesh Pargana

This pargana is in the extreme north-west corner of Bastar, and has Drug District on its northern boundary. It is difficult of access, and though the ghotul exists, I am told that the people have become shy and sensitive about it. There are said to be a few ghotul across the border in Drug.

Bargaon ..	..	15	13	
Bara Kapsi	..	11	10	
Chhindpal	..	8	8	
Deora ..	..	6	7	
Dhorkatta ..	..	10	10	
Ergutta ..	..	7	6	
Harangarh	..	10	11	
Jugani ..	..	11	9	
Murawandi	..	14	12	
Murjhar ..	..	9	9	
Palamureli	..	10	9	
Pitobhondiya	..	18	16	

Baragaon Pargana

This is one of the typical 'Jhoria' parganas. It is situated near the eastern border of the tahsil, immediately south of the Jhorian Pargana with the Kolar Forest Reserve to the west.

*** Amanera ..	J	15	10	Visited 12-4-41 for a marriage.
*** Borpal ..	J	25	23	Visited 11-4-41.
*** Deogaon ..	AB	17	15	Met chelik in December 1940.
*** Erka ..	AB	10	10	Visited several times in 1941.
*** Gawari ..	AB	19	18	Met chelik in March 1941.
Huchari ..	..	12	10	
Irko ..	..	6	4	
** Kanagaon	AB	14	14	
** Khatkagaon	AB	17	15	
*** Khurpal ..	AB	13	12	Met the chelik of this village several times during 1941.

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Benur Pargana

A beautiful pargana on the eastern borders of the tahsil, by which the road from Kondagaon approaches Narayanpur. Here we are still on the high northern plateau, and the scenery is one of rugged hills and splendid forest. The ghotul are often carefully built and carved; chelik and motiari wear the full 'Jhoria' attire; memorial menhirs are erected. The Lingo legend is known and some villages dance the Pus Kolang; all send the motiari out for the Diwali dances.

***	Arpal ..	AB	16	12	Met chelik in December 1940.
	Baghjhar ..	..	10	11	
***	Benur ..	AB	7	7	Formerly an important Muria village, it has now declined.
**	Bhatpal ..	J	13	9	Many contacts in 1940.
*	Borand ..	AB	9	8	
***	Chandagaon	AB	10	8	Met chelik in December 1940.
*	Chhinari ..	AB	7	5	
*	Dandwan ..	AB	5	4	
**	Gohra ..	AB	13	12	
	Gulumkodo	..	6	4	
***	Kalepal ..	AB	12	11	Met chelik in December 1940.
*	Karhagaon	AB	8	9	
**	Khargaon	AB	11	10	
**	Koliyari ..	AB	14	12	
*	Kulanar ..	AB	17	13	
**	Kulhargaon	AB	14	12	
***	Malingnar	J	13	10	Visited 23-11-40.
	Mandoki ..	..	11	9	
***	METAWAND	J	25	27	Visited with S.H. 13-18-12-40. Saw Pupal Korta Tindana and festival of clan-god on 15-12-40.
*	Mundpal ..	J	9	6	
***	NAVANAR ..	AB	27	21	Visited 23-11-40, 12-14-4-41, and 26-4-41 with S.H.
**	Netanar ..	J	9	8	
***	Panigaon ..	J	11	10	Met a number of chelik in December 1940.
***	REMAWAND	AB	17	16	Visited 21-24-11-40. Saw Diwali dancers from Markabera. Again visited with S.H., 25-4-41.
**	Sonapal ..	AB	14	12	
	Sirpur ..	..	8	6	
***	Turtha ..	J	13	11	Met several chelik in December 1940
**	Uridgaon ..	AB	9	8	

Bhanpur Pargana

This is really an Abujhmar Pargana, but there are Muria in some of the low-lying villages.

	Chilparas ..	..	7	8
*	Gundul ..	AB	8	6
	Panidobri ..	..	13	12

Chota Dongar Pargana

The great Chota Dongar Pargana lies half way across the southern part of the tahsil. The bulk of it is in the Abujhmar Mountains and is inhabited by Hill Maria. The road from Chota Dongar to Orcha through the Marian gorge has magnificent scenery. The Maria here are undoubtedly Hill Maria who have settled in the less inaccessible villages of the pargana. A large assembly of chelik

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and motiari in dancing dress, such as I witnessed in Kongera, is an unforgettable sight.

***	Aturgaon ..	J	28	19	Met many Muria from here on 6-2-41.
*	Bargaon ..	AB	19	14	
	Barma ..	..	8	6	
*	Chamali ..	AB	9	7	
	Dhanora ..	..	9	8	
*	Dumal ..	AB	19	16	
**	Gaurkhand	J	14	12	
*	Hevenur ..	AB	12	11	
*	Kanera ..	AB	24	21	
***	KONGERA ..	AB	50	45	Visited with W. Kaufmann 5-7-2-41.
**	Kosalnar ..	AB	22	19	
*	Kumari ..	J	18	18	
*	Marhonar ..	AB	12	8	
*	Palli ..	J	13	11	
***	Rajpur ..	J	12	9	Visited 6-2-41.
*	Salga ..	AB	8	7	
***	Taragaon ..	J	18	11	Many contacts in 1940-1.
*	Temrugaon	J	9	9	
***	Toinar ..	AB	18	16	Many contacts in 1940-2.

Dugal Pargana

The Dugal Pargana, which lies north of Narayanpur town and across the road to Antagarh, has some flourishing ghotul of the Jhoria type, though those near Narayanpur itself like Binjhli and Palki have modified their ornamentation considerably.

**	Aturbera ..	AB	15	12	
***	BINJHLI ..	AB	37	32	An important village, where I built a permanent camp. Stayed here with S.H. during November and December 1940 and often visited.
	Birlyebera ..		9	7	
***	Dugabangal	J (now AB)	19	17	Many contacts in 1940-1.
***	Gorhbangal	J (now AB)	22	19	Many contacts in 1940-1.
	Karlakha ..	..	17	11	
**	Karlapal ..	AB	9	6	
	Kharkagaon	..	12	10	
**	Mahka ..	AB	25	23	
***	PALKI ..	AB	31	28	Frequent visits in November and December 1940 with S.H.
*	Salanga ..	J	11	10	

Jhorian Pargana

There were formerly two Jhorian Parganas, the Ghat Jhorian and the Bara Jhorian, but the bulk of the former was included in the Kolar or Matla Forest Reserve. The present Jhorian Pargana lies on the eastern border of the tahsil and opens onto the Kongur Pargana of Kondagaon, with the western villages of which it has much in common. The ghotul are well built, carving is common, chelik and motiari adorn themselves in Jhoria style and dance like Hill Maria but with many enrichments. The *Lingo* legend is popular, boys dance the Pus Kolang and girls the Diwali. Marriages are in the bridegroom's house. Menhirs are erected to the dead.

*	Alnar ..	AB	12	10	

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***	Bandopal	AB	27	21	Visited 28-30-11-40 and again with S.H. 22-25-4-41.
	Bartanar ..	..	8	8	
	Garda ..	..	5	4	
*	Halainar ..	AB	6	5	
*	Karmari ..	AB	7	5	
	Kongera ..	..	8	4	
**	Kursai ..	AB	12	11	
**	Mule ..	J	12	9	
	Palarmeta	..	4	3	
	Pipra ..	..	3	2	
	Royi ..	..	4	3	
	Telanga ..	..	4	4	

Karangal Pargana

This pargana lies between Chota Dongar and Narayanpur. The chelik and motiari are of the Jhoria type and the customs throughout the pargana are similar to those described for the Jhorian Pargana, except that the cult of Lingo is weaker and only occasionally do the chelik go to dance the Deo Kolang. The motiari, however, dance the Diwali dances from village to village.

***	Amgaon ..	J	14	12	Visited with S.H. 10-12-40.
	Bara Jamri	..	10	9	
*	Baghdongri	AB	15	11	
***	Bakulwahi	J	29	27	Many contacts in 1940.
	Bamni ..	..	27	20	
***	Bangal ..	J	14	11	Many contacts in 1940-1.
*	Bawri ..	J	7	6	
**	Borand ..	J	9	8	
*	Borgaon ..	AB	8	8	
*	Deogaon ..	J	16	15	
	Derdul ..	..	12	7	
	Gotabenur	..	5	3	
***	Halami Munjmeta	J	11	10	Met chelik on 12-12-40.
***	Kapsi ..	J	29	19	Visited 9-12-40; contacts in February 1941 and 1942.
*	Karmari ..	AB	8	7	
**	Kharkagaon	J	13	12	
	Kochwahi	..	11	9	
*	Kokori ..	J	10	6	
*	Kukrajhor	AB	12	10	
**	Kumli ..	J	16	13	
*	Lalsuhnar	AB	7	6	
*	Malechur ..	J	9	8	
***	Markabera	J	16	17	Visited with S.H. 7-12-12-40; with W. Kaufmann 6-2-41; with B. S. Guha 28-2-42-2-3-42.
**	Moroskodo	J	12	11	
	Naunumeta	..	6	7	
*	Nelwar ..	J	9	8	
	Sargipal ..	..	5	3	
*	Siwni ..	AB	13	9	
*	Tadopal ..	J	10	8	
***	Tiumar ..	J	21	19	Many contacts during 1940-2.

Kalpatti Pargana

Kalpatti means 'lowlands' and this pargana is on the northern plain connecting with Chhattisgarh. Yet it has many links with the Hill Maria and the Abujhmar.

APPENDIX ONE

Menhirs are erected, and the Pus Kolang is danced. The Lingo legend is known. Chhattisgarhi Hindi is generally spoken along with Gondi.

* Darwisalebhat	AB	13	12	
*** Jiramtarai	AB	14	10	Met the chelik and motiari on 26-1-41 at Koilibera.
* Kastura ..	AB	7	6	
* Kasurasalebhat	AB	11	10	
*** Khutgaon	AB	16	13	Visited 27-28-1-41. Remarkable Muria landlord.
*** Kolleksa	AB	23	21	Visited 25-26-1-41. Unforgettable river scenery. Saw Pus Kolang dance and ceremonies.
* Kurusbori	AB	7	8	
* Maragaon ..	AB	13	12	
Masur ..	..	6	3	
* Murawandi	AB	8	5	
* Murnar ..	AB	7	7	
Nawge ..	..	3	2	
*** Partapur ..	AB	14	12	Visited 29-1-41, but have no detailed knowledge of ghotul.
Pipli ..	..	8	6	
* Salgi ..	AB	10	6	
* Tursani ..	AB	15	9	

Kiringal Pargana

This interesting pargana belongs properly to the Abujhmar, and the Muria here are obviously Hill Maria who have come down from the heights. The women often go bare-breasted, and the ghotul—though allowing full membership to girls—is still the centre of the male life of the village.

*** Barkot ..	J	14	12	Visited 30-1-41. Charming wooded village and nice people.
Ghoragaon ..		4	3	
Karekatta ..		7	4	
Kheregaon ..		7	3	
Maapi		6	4	
*** Palli ..	J	17	14	Visited 29-1-41. Well-built ghotul and good dancing.

Kolar Pargana

A large pargana lying between Antagarh and Narayanpur with much fine mountain scenery. The hills above the magnificent Ranghat rise to 2,938 feet. The Abujhmar and Matlaghat hills join across the Pargana. Jhoria influence here is not very strong. The Pus Kolang is danced everywhere; menhirs are erected; marriages are celebrated in the bridegroom's house; the Lingo legend is known.

* Badrungi ..	AB	18	16	
* Ballasalebhat	AB	18	15	
*** Bondanar ..	AB	15	13	Visited 7-6-40.
** Chingnar ..	AB	10	9	
Chipori ..	..	12	11	
** Hoychur ..	AB	8	5	
** Hurtarai ..	AB	9	6	
Kachwar ..	..	16	12	
* Kasadand	AB	12	9	
** Khalepara	AB	19	15	
*** Kolar ..	AB	8	6	A large mixed village. Visited 22-1-41.
Kurel ..	..	4	2	
* Malmeta	AB	18	17	
* Murnar ..	AB	8	7	

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*** Padbera ..	J	21	19	A friendly and beautiful village in the hills. Visited 19-12-41.
*** PHULPAR ..	AB	47	39	Visited 22-24-1-41. Saw Pus Kolang dancing.
* Pusawahi ..	AB	24	13	
** Sarandi ..	AB	25	21	
* Sirsangi ..	AB	10	10	
** Talabera ..	AB	15	12	
Taralkatta ..	..	12	11	
* Tumapal ..	AB	8	5	
Yeranar ..	..	15	13	

Narayanpur Pargana

A small pargana in the open country surrounding Narayanpur, the headquarters of the tahsil, where there are courts, a dispensary and school, and a very big bazaar to which come Hill Maria from the Abujhmar as well as large numbers of Jhoria Muria. I would not now call this a Jhoria pargana; external influence which first attacks externals has stripped the Muria of their delightful ornaments. The ghotul at Narayanpur is drab and rather corrupt.

* Garanji ..	AB	25	19	
*** Narayanpur	AB	34	31	Frequently visited with S.H. from 1937 to 1941.

Paralkot-Kalpatti Pargana

This pargana occupies the western end of the tahsil and includes the old zamindari of Paralkot. This is the gateway by which the influence of Chanda Hindus and Congressmen enters the State. The lovely Kotri river passes through the pargana and the hilly scenery on its eastern side which leads into the Abujhmar is attractive. Chelik and motiari on the east of the road and at Tarbaili are hardly to be distinguished from Hill Maria; the girls often go bare-breasted. But to the west, the people get more and more drab and uninteresting.

*** Betiya ..	AB	6	4	Visited 30-1-41-1-2-41.
Ghotanbera ..	..	11	9	
Irpanar ..	..	9	8	
Kanhargaon ..	..	8	7	
Karakoda ..	..	6	6	
* Kurenar ..	..	15	13	
* Markanar ..	..	9	9	
* Marora ..	..	12	11	
Mausamtola ..	..	10	10	
Nagaldand ..	..	11	10	
Parenga ..	..	7	8	
*** TARBAILI ..	..	15	13	A very attractive company came from this ghotul to dance at Betiya on 31-1-41.

Surwahi Pargana

This lies on the northern boundary of the State between the Antagarh and Khalpatti parganas, and is said to be very like them.

* Alkanhar ..	AB	16	14	
* Amoli ..	AB	20	18	
* Chargaon ..	AB	9	8	
* Durpalli ..	AB	10	9	
* Jethagaon	AB	9	5	
* Maragaon ..	AB	14	12	
* Nawagarh	AB	17	15	
* Surewahi ..	AB	19	15	

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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impulse, opposite in aim to the first, such as a fear of consequences, but it must be a fear stimulated by something present at the moment. Resultingly, the intellectual mechanisms of foresight, judgement and self-control are readily submerged by the instinctive impulse.[1]

I have described the two maps given in this book as 'Sketches', for that is what they are. It is in any case difficult to plot the Maria village-area, for many of the larger villages consist of a dozen or so hamlets spread over four or five miles yet all bearing the same name. Moreover, war conditions make it desirable that exact and informative maps should not be prepared at the present time. The reader, therefore, must accept these Sketches as being only rough indications of the location of the more important villages and the general lay-out of the countryside.

I have not burdened these pages with many cross-references. The two Summaries at the end of the book give the names of the murderers and suicides in alphabetical order, the clan-name in each case coming first. The Summary of homicides enables the reader to trace the sentence and subsequent history of each of the main characters in the book and also to see at a glance the entire outline of Maria crime.

My first friend in Bastar was Mr E. S. Hyde, I.C.S., a life-long champion of the aboriginals and the ally of every sincere supporter of their cause. The assistance given by him and Mr A. N. Mitchell was continued by their successor, Mr K. Radhakrishnan, I.C.S. At every stage of my enquiries I had the sympathetic interest of Dr W. P. S. Mitchell, M.B.E. Dr Mitchell has been for many years the Superintendent of the Jail at Jagdalpur and is extremely popular among the prisoners. Every ex-convict with whom I have talked has praised him, and indeed he reminds me of what Dostoeffsky says about the good-natured Russian Prison Governor who treated his men as equals. 'They did not love him, they adored him. I do not remember that they ever permitted themselves to be disrespectful or familiar. On the contrary when he met the Governor the convict's face suddenly lighted up; he smiled largely, cap in hand, even to see him approach.' Another popular figure in the Bastar Jail was Dr

[1] B. J. F. Laubscher, *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology* (London, 1937), p. 302.

3:Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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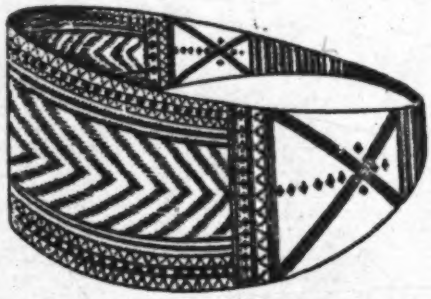
164 State Medical Department has done much to check the spread of the disease. Malaria, as everywhere in the Indian forests, is endemic, but few suffer from enlarged spleen. Leprosy and the venereal diseases are very rare. Skin diseases are also much less common than among the more elaborately clothed and thus dirtier people of the north.

291 Men wear a small loin-cloth and sometimes a little turban. The women tie a sort of skirt, very short, round their waists: it hangs down to the knees. The breasts are covered only with [532 ornaments; when 301] visiting a bazaar girls may tie a small piece of cloth round their shoulders. They often wear a thin brass fillet round [302] the hair, and the older women use a large snood which is most becoming. Round the neck are masses of bead-necklaces, and iron or brass torcs. The bright colours of the beads and the shining brass fillets against the rich brown skin make a sight of unforgettable beauty.



Brass fillet worn by Maria women

361 The Bison-horn Maria village is laid out on the same lines as the Gond village of the Central Provinces, unlike the communal settlements of the Hill Maria, Baiga or Juang. Each house stands in its own garden which is sometimes a substantial field, and a village may cover a very large area in consequence. Often a village is composed of anything from six to twelve small hamlets, each of which represents the grouping of a family round its patriarchal head. The little huts stand among woods, on rocky hill-sides, in the shade of spreading trees. Sometimes they appear almost submerged [485 by waves of yellow sarson flowers or red jhira vegetable.
993 Each village has a substantial building for the accommodation
361 of travellers and this is used by the unmarried boys as a dormitory. The unmarried girls also sleep together, some-

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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times in a little house of their own, sometimes in a room lent to them by an old widow. Where there is a separate hut, this is sometimes also used for the segregation of menstruating women. In a few places there are special buildings for this purpose. The houses of the headmen are not built in any special position, but those of the Siraha medicine-men can generally be distinguished by the little huts for patients which are built round them. On the outskirts of the village will be found the shrine of the Village Mother, and in a grove nearby there may be the temple of one of the clan-gods. Beyond is the village burial place and cremation ground. Rows of menhirs in memory of the Dead may be seen in the majority of villages.

There is no standard pattern for the Maria house any more than there is for the Maria village. Most of the houses consist of three rooms, each a separate building with eaves at different levels, which make them look, as Grigson says, 'like card houses'. The first room, which is really a built-in verandah, is the kitchen. It leads into a bedroom and this in turn opens into an inner and secret room mostly occupied by a platform for storing grain and other possessions; in one corner is the Pot of the Departed about which centres the Maria cult of the Ancestors. Frequently two or more such houses are built round a courtyard, part of which is occupied by a more or less open building where people sit to talk and work.

Maria women's dancing-stick (3½′ long)

The houses are generally clean and pleasant, but littered with a great variety of domestic and agricultural impediments. Outside are the pig-styes and cattle-sheds,